

THE MILITANT

INSIDE
Event in Guangzhou, China,
discusses Chinese in Cuba
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Socialists file for N.Y. ballot spot

Socialist Workers Party joins fighters on picket lines, in the streets



Left: Christopher Hoepfner (center), Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress in New York's 9th District, files 7,080 signatures for ballot access July 13—twice the required number. With him, from left: Angel Lariscy, campaign director Róger Calero, and Larry Lukehart. Right: Hoepfner joins members of SEIU Local 32BJ on strike picket line in Far Rockaway, Queens, July 11. (See article on page 4.)

BY PAUL MAILHOT

NEW YORK, July 13—Christopher Hoepfner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in the 9th District, turned in 7,080 signatures this evening to put his name and party on the ballot in the September 13 special election. He was accompanied by SWP campaign manager Róger Calero and other supporters.

According to election officials, so far Hoepfner was the only candidate

whose supporters had filed the thousands of signatures needed to contest for the seat vacated in June by Democratic Party officeholder Anthony Weiner. There remained a few hours until the midnight filing deadline.

The SWP campaign is “in the streets and on the picket lines,” the socialist candidate said after handing in the petitions. Hoepfner said the campaign is part of discussions with fel-

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Beijing bullies smaller nations over South China Sea islands

BY DOUG NELSON

Beijing is pressing to use its growing naval power to wrest control of a vast swath of the South China Sea stretching more than 1,000 miles beyond its soil and encompassing territorial claims of Vietnam, Malaysia,

Brunei, and the Philippines.

U.S. Adm. Michael Mullen emphasized Washington's displeasure during a July 10–13 diplomatic visit to Beijing. Washington's concern stems not from new-found respect for the integrity of nations whose sovereignty the U.S. rulers have trampled for decades, but from the challenge Beijing poses to U.S. naval dominance in the region.

The South China Sea contains vital shipping lanes and is believed to hold large untapped oil and gas deposits. There Beijing's military has encroached on fishing areas and set up docks and other facilities on islands and reefs claimed by other Asian and Pacific nations. Disputed land includes the Paracel Islands, claimed by Vietnam, and Spratly Islands, with overlapping areas claimed by Vietnam, Philippines, Malaysia, and Brunei.

“Indisputable sovereignty” over the South China Sea is Beijing's refrain, backed up with increasing force over the last decade.

A Chinese marine expedition cut the survey cables of a Vietnamese oil exploration vessel May 26, causing a nearly two-week suspension of the ship's mission. Five days later, according to Hanoi, Chinese ships

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Calif. inmates fight lockdowns, punishment of groups by race

BY ARLENE RUBINSTEIN

LOS ANGELES—Inmates at Pelican Bay State Prison began a hunger strike July 1 to protest inhuman conditions. Their protest immediately spread to other prisons in California as thousands of inmates refused meals in solidarity with the strike. According to *Prison Focus*, 6,600 prisoners turned down prison trays on the first day. Street protests have also taken place on the inmates' behalf in Los Angeles, San Francisco, New York, and other cities.

The prisoners demand an end to the Special Housing Units (SHUs) where

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Support an independent working-class campaign!

We urge working people in New York's 9th Congressional District, as well as others everywhere, to support the Socialist Workers Party campaign of Christopher Hoepfner in the September 13 special election for that vacant seat.

EDITORIAL

By mobilizing to get on the ballot, the socialists put a spotlight on the outrageously undemocratic way the election was called. Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo announced the election late Friday afternoon of the July 4th weekend. To maximize

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Washington squeezes Pakistan, continues drone assassinations

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

Tensions are rising between Washington and Islamabad, with the Barack Obama administration demanding that Pakistan's rulers take more aggressive military action against the Taliban along border areas with Afghanistan and further inside Pakistan itself.

The U.S. government on July 11 suspended \$800 million in military aid to Pakistan—one-third of the nearly \$2 billion it annually provides. The move comes after Pakistani authorities expelled 120 U.S. military “trainers,” limited the ability of U.S. diplomats and other officials to get visas, and announced restrictions on some CIA operations on its territory.

“If Americans refuse to give us money,” said Pakistani defense minister Ahmed Mukhtar, then “the government or the armed forces will be moving from the border areas. We

Maryland to Kansas: defend right to choose

BY SETH GALINSKY

“We need to become more vocal and make a lot noise” to defend a woman's right to choose abortion, Dr. LeRoy Carhart told the *Militant*. Opponents of the right to choose are a minority, he said in a July 11 phone interview, but they have been making more noise.

Germantown Reproductive Health Services in Germantown, Maryland, run by Carhart, is being targeted by Operation Rescue in what the rightist group calls “Summer of Mercy 2.0.” Operation Rescue will be joined by other anti-choice groups in daily actions outside the clinic for nine days from July 30 to August 7.

Carhart is one of only a handful of doctors in the United States who perform abortions after the 21st week of pregnancy since Dr. George Tiller was gunned down in Wichita, Kansas, in 2009 by a rightist opponent of women's rights.

In response to Operation Rescue, Carhart and other supporters of the right to choose are organizing a “Summer Celebration of Choice,” calling on all those who support women's rights to come to Germantown. Kira Baughman, an organizer of the actions, encouraged pro-choice supporters to join the first day of activities July 31, which will open with a 1 p.m. “Kick-Off Walk” that will circle the Germantown neighborhood

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cannot afford to keep military out in the mountains.” Pakistani soldiers patrol some 1,100 checkpoints along the Afghan border.

The already strained relations have deteriorated further since a U.S. Navy

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NLRB suit against Boeing is no advance for workers

BY SETH GALINSKY

In April the National Labor Relations Board, at the urging of officials of the International Association of Machinists, filed suit against Boeing, one of the world’s largest aerospace corporations. The NLRB seeks to order the company to shift production from its new \$750 million plant in South Carolina to Boeing’s union-organized plants in Washington State, on grounds that management moved the work from the North-west in retaliation for several strikes by IAM members since the 1970s.

AS I SEE IT

“We can’t afford to have a work stoppage every three years,” complained a Boeing executive, in explaining why the company built the factory in South Carolina. The state has one of the lowest unionization rates, 3.5 percent.

In June Judge Clifford Anderson ruled it was too early in the hearings process to grant Boeing’s motion to dismiss the suit. Top union officials are celebrating.

But does this move against Boeing by an agency of the capitalist government strengthen workers in our fight against the bosses? Does it put us in a better position to fight for higher wages and safety on the job?

To the contrary, holding up the NLRB suit as a step forward not only gives Boeing a handle in its drive to divide workers and further weaken the union. Above all, it throws in the towel on any fighting perspective to organize the workers at the South Carolina plant.

Both unionization and average wages

are substantially lower in the South than the North. In South Carolina the average weekly wage is \$713 versus \$953 in Washington. The capitalist class has for decades profited from the relatively cheaper labor in the South and used this disparity as a club to depress wages and push down job conditions nationwide.

Organizing the South

In the 1930s a rise of workers’ struggles—under the impetus of victorious strikes in Minneapolis, San Francisco, and Toledo, Ohio, in 1934, followed by hard-fought organizing battles in steel, auto, and other industries the next few years—led to the formation of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). By the 1940s more than one-third of U.S. workers were union members.

When the U.S. capitalist rulers plunged our class into the bloodbath of World War II, the CIO leadership backed off plans to organize workers in the South, sacrificing the interests of labor on the altar of support for Washington’s imperialist war aims.

In 1946, after the war, the CIO officialdom announced “Operation Dixie,” with the stated aim of organizing millions of workers in the South. To do that, however, would have meant taking on not just the bosses but Jim Crow segregation, challenging the Democratic Party—the political bastion of that racist system in state and local governments. Unionizing the South required a political break by labor officials from the Democrats, who counted on segregationist party bosses to deliver votes.

By 1948 top union officials had already let “Operation Dixie” die on the



Militant/Scott Breen

Rally in Seattle Sept. 16, 2005, backing 18,000 Boeing workers on strike against company’s moves to create two-tier system for health and pensions. Union officials’ backing of National Labor Relations Board suit against Boeing only gives bosses handle in drive to weaken union.

vine, despite pledges to revive it a few years later when the CIO reunited with the American Federation of Labor to form the AFL-CIO in 1955. Ever since, the officialdom has refused to commit resources and support to a serious campaign by workers to organize the South, just as it failed to throw the power of organized labor into the mass civil rights struggles that brought down Jim Crow in the 1950s and ’60s.

Today less than 7 percent of private-sector workers in the United States are union members—and the figure is still declining. Competition among workers for jobs is intensifying as working people face high unemployment, rising prices, and government moves to undermine constitutional protections and space for workers to organize resistance.

Instead of aiming at the “emancipation of the downtrodden millions”—the task set for trade unions in an 1866 resolution drafted by Karl Marx for the International Working Men’s Association—procapitalist labor officials take refuge in maintaining their dues base in the small and shrinking number of union “strongholds,” largely in the North.

Instead of placing unions at the head of a social and political movement to fight for health care, retirement benefits, disability compensation, and other needed protections for the class as a whole, labor officials have tried to wangle “good” contracts, with “fringe benefits,” dependent more and more on the bosses’ profits.

Putting the interests of a declining number of organized workers ahead of those who are worse off has hamstrung the unions as fighting instruments. It

has brought the working class, including many lulled for decades into the illusion “we have it good,” to the economic and social conditions our class faces today.

NLRB is ‘costly to workers’

The NLRB was established in 1935. In his book *Teamster Politics*, Farrell Dobbs—a leader of the 1930s battles that built the Teamsters union across much of the United States, and later national secretary of the Socialist Workers Party—noted that the board’s “key purpose was to mediate industrial conflicts . . . in tricky ways that proved costly to the workers.” Such it remains today.

Commenting on the Boeing suit and other NLRB actions, Lynn Rhinehart, the AFL-CIO’s top lawyer, told the *New York Times* in April he wishes the board “would do far more.” But workers have only our own strength and common action to rely on—*independent* of the Democrats and Republicans, the two parties that serve the class interests of the capitalists who exploit our labor.

Class-conscious workers don’t concern ourselves with telling bosses where to build their factories, mines, and mills. Not only are such efforts ultimately futile—the employers act to maximize their profits. Above all, doing so erects barriers to advancing the unity and fighting capacity of our class. Let’s organize alongside fellow workers to defend our interests everywhere! In the North, the South, beyond the U.S. borders!

Central to such a fight is using union power today to extend class solidarity to every economic, social, or political battle by workers and the oppressed, no matter how large or small.

THE MILITANT

Using ‘Militant’ to build revolutionary party

Socialist workers are using the ‘Militant’ to advance building a revolutionary working-class movement to confront the crisis of capitalism, taking the paper where working people live as well as to the factories, oil fields, and coal mines where they work. Don’t miss an issue!



Militant/John Naubert

Selling *Militant* on road leading to coal mine in Kemmerer, Wyoming, June 24.

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L.A. activist is charged in FBI fishing expedition

BY ELLIE GARCIA

LOS ANGELES—In a predawn raid May 17, FBI agents and the SWAT team of the Sheriff’s Department—armed with riot gear and automatic weapons—smashed down the front door of Carlos Montes, a Chicano political activist.

Cops ransacked Montes’s home, taking his computer, cell phones, and documents related to his political activity.

Some 100 demonstrators picketed the Alhambra, California, courthouse June 16, the day of Montes’s arraignment. He was charged with six felony counts, including possession of a firearm by a felon, possession of ammunition, and perjury for lying on gun registration paperwork. He pled not guilty.

“This is not about having a gun or buying a gun, it’s about my political views and political activity,” Montes said at a protest and press conference outside the courtroom in Alhambra, California, July 6, a day before his hearing.

While he was sitting in the back seat of the sheriff’s car, Montes said, an FBI agent asked him questions about the Freedom Road Socialist Organization, which he refused to answer.

States push new ‘crime registry’ blacklists

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

In a move targeting the democratic rights of working people, state legislators around the country are seeking to set up online registries for those convicted of various criminal acts under the capitalist “justice” system. Such lists will become part of the government’s ever-expanding databases, subjecting those on them to further cop harassment, government spying, and discriminatory treatment in seeking jobs and places to live.

In Illinois state senators are discussing creating a registry for first-degree murderers. The bill overwhelmingly passed the House in April by a 97-1 vote. Those released from prison would be listed on this database for at least the next 10 years, immediately affecting several hundred people and 3,000 more in the coming years.

In Maine a bill is being promoted for an online registry of people convicted of driving while intoxicated. Under consideration in other states are registries for arsonists, animal abusers, and those producing methamphetamine. Legislatures in Suffolk and Rockland counties in New York have already enacted animal abuse registries.

On May 17 the New York State Senate voted 57-4 to set up a “violent offenders” registry. Those on the list would have to report their residence, for life. The bill never got out of committee in the state assembly.

These registries are patterned after the sex offender registries in effect nationwide. Those put on these lists are most often branded for life.

In 2003 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that states may put names, pictures, and addresses of convicted sex offenders on the Internet. Two years earlier it upheld a state law allowing authorities to keep some people convicted of sex crimes locked up even after they serve out the prison terms for those charges.

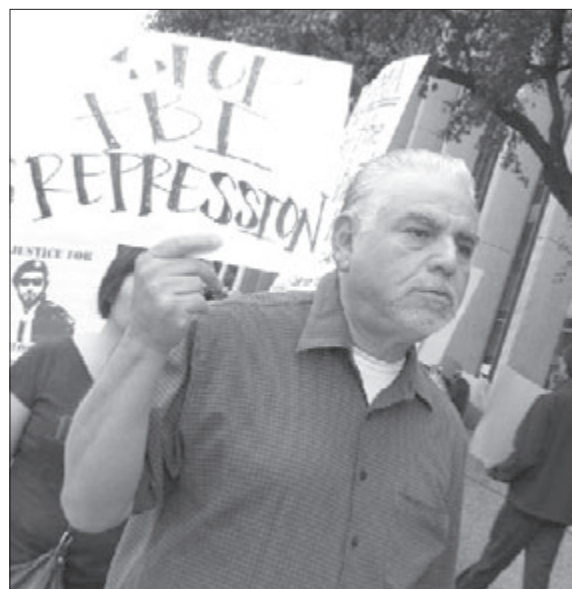
On Sept. 24, 2010, the FBI raided the homes of antiwar, union, and political activists in Chicago, Minneapolis, and other cities. The Freedom Road Socialist Organization is among the targeted groups.

FBI spokesman Steve Warfield said at the time that the raids were part of an “ongoing Joint Terrorism Task Force investigation into activities concerning the material support of terrorism.” Montes was named in a subpoena left by the FBI in the office of the Twin Cities Anti-War Committee.

Subpoenas have now been issued to at least 23 individuals across the country to appear before grand juries. All 23 have refused to testify.

Montes represented himself at his arraignment, during which he requested and received a continuance to obtain legal representation.

Montes also requested copies of the



Right, June 16 protest outside arraignment in Alhambra, California, for political activist Carlos Montes, who was framed up on firearm-related charges and perjury. Left, door to Montes’s house after FBI and SWAT team kicked it in during May 17 raid.

affidavits for the search warrant and police report on his case. District Attorney Kathleen Gentry said no, but the judge finally agreed to turn over redacted versions with the stipulation they not be released to the media.

Montes is active in the fight for immigrant rights, as well as against U.S.

Wars and FBI repression. He was one of the founders of the Brown Berets and a leader of East Los Angeles walkouts in March 1968 by thousands of Chicano students protesting racist school conditions.

James Harris contributed to this article.

Explosion of ‘interns’ is attack on wages, solidarity

BY SETH GALINSKY

U.S. companies, government agencies, universities, and so-called nonprofits are expanding their use of interns to cut labor costs.

As many as 50 percent of the estimated 1 million–2 million interns in the United States work for free or less than minimum wage, according to *Intern Nation*, a recent book by Ross Perlin. The use of interns is now so widespread that a headline in *Fortune* magazine earlier this year proclaimed “Unpaid jobs: the new normal?”

“People who work for free are far hungrier than anybody who has a salary,” Kelly Fallis, CEO of the interior decorating company Remote Stylist, told *Fortune*. “They’re going to try to please.”

Prior to the 1970s, internships were uncommon due to protections won by labor struggles in the 1930s and ’40s, including the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The act prohibits uncompensated labor except in limited circumstances.

Working for free was anathema to working people. Refusal to do so was a question of proletarian morality.

But in recent decades, these protec-

tions have been eroded in practice, as government agencies charged with enforcing the Fair Labor Standards Act have looked the other way.

Internships among college students have expanded dramatically. In the early 1980s as few as 3 percent of college students completed an internship before graduating. Today that figure is as high as 75 percent.

University administrations are among the biggest promoters. Many charge tuition for the “privilege” of working for free, claiming interns learn valuable skills worthy of college credit.

Disney World, the largest single-site employer in the United States, is a prime example. In addition to its arrangements with Tulane, Purdue, and the University of North Carolina, Disney brings in recruits from abroad with J-1 visas. In all, some 8,000 interns do everything from dressing up as Disney characters to stocking gift shops, parking cars, and cleaning hotel rooms.

“Unlike most internships you’ll find, this is a paid experience! . . . [that] will build valuable skills and relationships,” Disney’s website brags. The starting pay? \$7.31 an hour.

What the website doesn’t mention is that there are no medical insurance or other benefits and interns live in tightly supervised company compounds. Some Disney “cast members” end up with “negative paychecks” after rent and other expenses are deducted.

Internships are also common on Capitol Hill. Every summer some 20,000 plus interns come to Washington, D.C., “as if by magic . . . to perform clerical duties, draft legislation, and sexually gratify more established political figures,” Roger Hodge wrote in a recent issue of *Bookforum*. Under legislation passed in 1995, U.S. Congress employs 6,000 unpaid interns. This massive yearly influx depresses wage levels in the city.

This is not just a U.S. phenomenon. In Germany 51 percent of interns are unpaid; in the United Kingdom, 37 percent.

In China, vocational school students have been required to “intern” in massive numbers to overcome a labor shortage in factories. The Henan provincial government ordered 100,000 students to intern at Foxconn factories as part of enticing the Taiwanese-based manufacturer to establish factories there.

25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



July 25, 1986

President Ronald Reagan’s decision to send U.S. troops to Bolivia to combat drug traffickers is intended to further establish the government’s right to send troops anywhere in the world, without regard for the will of the people or the laws of this country.

The claim that it is justified because drug trafficking is a threat to U.S. “national security” is a hoax.

Such moves also represent a serious threat to the independence of other countries that may find U.S. forces descending on them in the name of combating drug dealers or other offenders.

Officials admitted the troops had been authorized to shoot, if “fired on first,” and acknowledged there could be casualties.



July 24 & 31, 1961

Kennedy’s threat to plunge the United States into a nuclear war if the Pentagon’s military occupation “rights” in the western sector of Berlin should be undermined by a peace treaty between the Soviet Union and East Germany is being hailed by the capitalist press as great statesmanship.

But the gist of Kennedy’s July 25 reply to Khrushchev’s peace treaty moves was: “We will bury ourselves!”

The burial is to take place in fallout shelters. “In the event of an attack, the lives of those families which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire can still be saved,” said Kennedy, “if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available.”



December 19, 1936

The iron solidarity of the Maritime Unions brought new negotiations directly with the shipowners during the past week, which give promise of bringing the seven-week-old strike to an early conclusion with the concession of the unions’ basic demands.

The direct negotiations are known to have centered on the key questions in dispute—hiring hall, cash overtime, 8-hour day for cooks and stewards and wage adjustments.

The struggle between the workers and shipowners is a class struggle. The issue in every case is decided by power. The power of the workers is always tested by their ability and readiness to tie up the ships. This is the heart and core of militant trade union policy.

‘We face same problems workers face worldwide’

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—Supporters of Socialist Workers Party Congressional candidate Christopher Hoeppepner intend “to ensure that in the midst of the worsening crisis of capitalism, there is a candidate on the ballot here who says workers and farmers need to take power out of the hands of the ruling capitalist families and bring to power a revolutionary government of working people,” said Róger Calero at a July 9 meeting.

Calero, SWP campaign director for the special September 13 election in the 9th Congressional District, was reading from a press release announcing the campaign. The dinner and program, attended by some 80 people, was held at the end of a second day collecting signatures to place Hoeppepner on the ballot.

“I grew up in Woodside, an Irish Catholic neighborhood in Queens,” Hoeppepner said. “Today my neighborhood has people from all over the world—Egypt, China, Korea, to name a few—and we’re facing the same problems working people in other parts of the world face.” He noted the example of the elementary school across from the house where he lives. “P.S. 151 used to have a playground. Now it’s filled with classroom modules,” he said. “Meanwhile, they’re shutting down other schools and firing teachers. They’ve closed St. John’s Hospital on Queens Boulevard.

“My dad, who’s a retired fireman, congratulated me on my nomination today and slipped me a few bucks” for the campaign, Hoeppepner told the crowd.

“I don’t say vote for me because I’ll solve the problems you’re facing,” Hoeppepner said. “That’s impossible for one person to do. But we will join with any workers fighting the injustices of this system today, and we’ll work with them to build a movement to replace it with one based on working-class solidarity.”

Hoeppepner said campaign supporters will travel to Germantown, Maryland, in late July and early August to join others in defending a clinic there from opponents of a woman’s right to choose abortion, who are mobilizing to try to shut it down.

A striking building worker in Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ met supporters circulating Hoeppepner’s petitions and invited the candidate to visit the picket line in Queens (see article on this page). Another worker urged him to come to a rally of Sky Chefs food-service workers at Kennedy Airport. Immigrant college students fighting for legalization asked him to speak to their club.

Calero, who is a spokesman for the party’s 9th C.D. campaign, was SWP candidate for U.S. president in 2004 and 2008. Last year he ran in Harlem for the seat in the 15th district.



Militant/Eric Simpson

Róger Calero, director of New York SWP campaign of Christopher Hoeppepner for Congress in 9th district, speaks at rally July 9 celebrating second day of petitioning for ballot status.

Three people who met socialist campaigners while petitioning attended the Saturday night event.

Speaking at the rally Steve Clark, a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and also editor of the *Militant*, welcomed the campaign, saying its example would help transform party branches not just in New York but elsewhere to better enable them to respond politically to growing numbers of workers looking for ways to combat the consequences of the capitalist crisis.

“We’ll come out of this campaign a stronger party,” Clark said, equipped to fight more effectively alongside other workers in resisting deteriorating job

conditions, defending workers’ rights to organize and act, and demanding jobs in face of an unemployment rate closer to 20 percent or more, not the 9 percent the government claims.

In response to a question about the unemployment crisis, Hoeppepner said the SWP campaign, among other things, calls for a government-funded public works program to create jobs for millions rebuilding roads, railways, and other crumbling infrastructure and constructing schools, hospitals, day-care centers, and other projects working people need.

Asked by someone why the campaign doesn’t talk more about all the money going to CEOs’ salaries and the war budget, Clark said those are a symptom, not the cause, of the capitalist crisis. The labor of working people is the source of all wealth, he said, “but most is appropriated by the ruling families who own the factories, banks, and land.

“The only way to change that,” Clark said, “is to follow the example here of what workers and farmers did in Cuba more than half a century ago: make a revolution to take power away from those wealthy families and replace it with a government of working people.”

Nearly \$2,300 was raised in a campaign fund appeal.

Queens: Striking building workers win solidarity

BY PAUL MAILHOT

QUEENS, New York, July 11—“We’re just trying to make a decent living, that’s all,” said Ray Ceballos, a member of Local 32BJ of the Service Employees International Union, at the picket line here today in front of the Dayton Park apartment buildings in Far Rockaway. Tenants driving their cars in and out of the five-building apartment complex gave strikers the thumbs up and honked their horns in solidarity.

About 25 building maintenance workers walked off the job July 7 after Dayton Park management demanded a four-year wage freeze. The union had already agreed to a reduction in staff by three full-time employees. Having been without a contract since April 2010, workers’ family health insurance was recently cut off.

Strikers pointed out that union members making deliveries to the apartment complex have refused to cross the picket line in solidarity. “Everybody is sticking together in this fight,” said Ceballos. He pointed to a table where workers who live in the

housing complex and elsewhere in the neighborhood regularly bring food and water to the strikers. Some tenants started a petition to remove Jennifer Grady as chair of Dayton Park’s Board of Directors.

“Management is trying to turn tenants against us by saying that rents are going up because of the workers, but people know rents are going up across the city and we’re not the ones raising them,” one of the strikers said.

Union members at Dayton Park are

reaching out for support. A solidarity rally is scheduled for July 14 at 5:00 p.m. in front of the buildings. “Far Rockaway we need your help!” reads the headline of the flyer promoting the rally, appealing to the surrounding community.

Workers from Flatbush Gardens apartment complex in Brooklyn—members of 32BJ who have been locked out for opposing company concessions—have already been by the picket line and are planning to come out for the rally.

Socialists file for spot on New York ballot

Continued from front page

low workers “who are trying to find ways to fight unemployment, declining wages and rising prices, attacks on immigrants, curtailment of the right of women to decide if and when to bear children, spreading imperialist wars, and cuts to medical care and pensions.

“Our campaign is aimed at building solidarity among working people in order to strengthen the ability of the working class to resist these attacks by the capitalist rulers, their government, and their two parties—the Democrats and Republicans.

“The Socialist Workers Party campaign points to the necessity of working people to take political power out of the hands of the billionaire ruling class and begin the struggle to eliminate the exploitation, oppression, and incessant wars that are the product of the capitalist system.”

The Socialist Workers candidate is running against Democratic Party politician David Weprin, an attorney and investment banker, and Republican Robert Turner, a retired cable TV executive. Both were selected by offi-

cials of their parties, with no petitioning requirement to get on the ballot.

Weprin will actually appear on three ballot lines—Democratic, Working Families, and Independence. Turner will have his name on the ballot twice—Republican and Conservative. The extra designations are spots on the New York State ballot used by the two major capitalist parties to weight the elections against each other, as well as against any working-class challenge.

The successful effort to collect more than double the required 3,500 signatures to put the SWP candidate on the ballot was planned and executed over a single week. The stingy 13-day window set by Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo to collect such a large number of signatures was so undemocratic that even the *New York Times* editors felt compelled to run an editorial condemning the governor’s decision, saying that



any “outsider” seeking ballot would have a “fat chance.”

“Our campaign has been received with interest among working people in Queens and Brooklyn,” Hoeppepner said. “Like workers everywhere, they are feeling the effects of the capitalist crisis, and many are glad to meet a socialist candidate who speaks in the interests of the working class in the elections and uses the campaign to build solidarity for workers’ fights.”

Hoeppepner has been interviewed about the Socialist Workers campaign by the *New York Observer* and *The Wave*, a local newspaper in Queens.

While collecting nominating petitions, supporters of the campaign sold 504 copies of the *Militant* newspaper and 22 introductory subscriptions.

NEW YORK Manhattan

**From Maryland to Kansas:
Defend a Woman’s Right
to Choose Abortion.**

**Speaker: Róger Calero, di-
rector of New York Socialist
Workers Party Campaign
of Christopher Hoeppepner
for Congress, 9th C.D.**

Fri., July 15, 7:30 p.m.
307 W. 36th St. 10th floor
Tel.: (212) 629-6649

Queens, Brooklyn workers help get socialist on ballot

BY CINDY JAQUITH

NEW YORK—"Queens has changed a lot. You're old enough to remember what happened in 1986, aren't you?" said a woman from a neighborhood near Howard Beach. She was talking to a volunteer collecting signatures to put Socialist Workers Party candidate Christopher Hoeppner on the ballot for the September special congressional election here.

The woman was referring to a notorious racist assault in Howard Beach that year by a gang of Caucasian youth who attacked three Black men who stopped at a pizza shop in the area. One of the three, Michael Griffith, was chased onto a highway where a car struck and killed him. The woman, who was Caucasian, was pleased to see campaign supporters getting a good response in Queens.

An ironworker signed the petition in Sheepshead Bay, Brooklyn, and bought the *Militant*. He said he recently joined coworkers who walked off the job and marched across the Brooklyn Bridge to the bosses' office to protest stalled contract talks.

Two women originally from Russia signed and got copies of the paper, which one of them had seen previously at Borough of Manhattan Community College. Both were unemployed, one of them facing eviction. "How can I keep looking for a job when I can't even get into my apartment?" she asked.

A woman in Queens said, "Tell the candidate we need a one-day strike over the high cost of subway fares."

Mark Legall, a state worker, said he was angry with Gov. Andrew Cuomo: "He wants us to take nine furlough days and freeze our pay for four years."

A young woman born in China said, "The problem is, a minority gets all the money—both here and in China."

"How far do we have to be pushed before we do what they did in Egypt?" said another woman who signed a petition.

A young woman outside a grocery in Sheepshead Bay where she works carrying bags described conditions in the area, including the lack of recreation facilities. After signing and urging a few shoppers to do so, she argued with someone who said socialism is no good and capitalism is the only answer. Hoeppner, the young woman said, is the type of fighter her neighborhood needs.



Militant/Seth Galinsky

Harry D'Agostino, left, collects signatures in Forest Hills, Queens, to get Christopher Hoeppner, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress in 9th District, on ballot.

Peter, a 23-year-old part-time grocery worker wearing a United Food and Commercial Workers union button (the store is organized), described problems getting medical coverage for his wife, who is disabled, and for their son. He

said he voted for Ralph Nader in 2008 because the Democrats and Republicans had nothing to offer, and was excited to find out about the SWP campaign. He signed, bought a *Militant*, and put his name on the campaign mailing list.

Maryland to Kansas: defend right to choose

Continued from front page where the clinic is located.

"We are building this as a peaceful presence to show support for women's right to choose, not just here, but all over the country," Baughman said. Women from across the United States and Canada come to the Germantown clinic, she said, because there are few health-care facilities where they can get late-term abortions.

"Every week there are anti-choice actions outside the clinic," Baughman said. "Sometimes they jump out to slow down cars heading into the parking lot."

In April the Maryland Coalition for Life rented office space across the street from Carhart's clinic and set up "Germantown Pregnancy Choices." They give the impression they are "a source of medical information," Baughman said, "but their real purpose is to draw women in" and away from the clinic.

1991 siege of Wichita

In calling its week of activity the "Summer of Mercy 2.0," Operation Rescue is marking the 20th anniversary of the "Summer of Mercy" in Wichita, Kansas. For weeks in July 1991, rightist forces blockaded abortion clinics there, at times shutting down their operations.

Their success was a result of refusal by the middle-class leaderships of women's rights groups, trade unions, and civil rights organizations to mobilize supporters in a timely way to defend the right to choose. Union officials said it was not a labor issue, even though the assault on the right to choose deals the biggest blows to working-class women and weakens the labor movement.

Women's rights groups did not begin to organize a response until August 1991. When they finally did, thousands turned out and many joined picket lines to defend the clinics.

Although Operation Rescue did not succeed in permanently closing the Wichita clinics, they were emboldened by the 1991 campaign and sought to repeat the blockades elsewhere.

In April 1992 the group began a month-long siege of clinics in Buffalo, New York. This time, however, defenders of women's rights were prepared. Thousands turned out to defend

the clinics in Buffalo and make sure they stayed open.

While Operation Rescue and other anti-choice groups were preparing their attempt to run Carhart out of Maryland, a new Kansas law was set to take effect July 1, imposing obstructive and costly "licensing" requirements aimed at shutting down abortion providers.

Twenty years ago there were 15 clinics in Kansas. In 2005 there were seven. By 2008 there were just four. "After the assassination of Dr. Tiller there were just three clinics," Peter Brownlie, president of Planned Parenthood of Kansas and Mid-Missouri, said in a phone interview.

"Clearly the purpose of the law is to make it more difficult and more expensive to operate a clinic," Brownlie said. While Planned Parenthood "turned somersaults" and complied with the rules, he said, the two other

clinics could not and filed suit. None are in Wichita. A judge has granted an injunction on implementation of the new rules until the case is heard.

In early July the *New York Times* reported on physician Mila Means's plans to open a clinic in Wichita to provide the procedure. After receiving a threatening letter telling her that "maybe today is the day someone places an explosive" under her car, she intends to go through with her plans.

Forces opposed to abortion rights across the country have also received a boost from bipartisan approval of federal government bans on funding for the right to choose.

The National Organization for Women, Feminist Majority, and the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Rights are supporting the Summer Celebration of Choice. For more information on the July 31–August 7 actions in Germantown, see www.summerofchoice.com.

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Beijing claims South China Sea

Continued from front page
fired warning shots at Vietnamese fishermen. In 2005 Chinese warships opened fire on Vietnamese boats, killing and injuring several fishermen. The recent clashes sparked public protests July 5 in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi.

The Philippine government has accused Beijing of incursions over the last few months, including a charge that Chinese vessels fired on Filipino fishermen. According to Manila, Chinese patrol boats threatened to ram a Philippine Department of Energy vessel March 2 near the disputed Reed Bank.

Philippine foreign secretary Albert del Rosario announced July 11 that Manila intends to introduce the issue of the Spratly Islands dispute at the UN International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea.

Like the Chinese rulers' disregard for the rights and aspirations of oppressed nationalities such as those in Tibet and Xinjian, Beijing's declared ownership of waters claimed by smaller nations in Southeast Asia is rationalized on the basis of "historical" precedent, that is, the conquests of Chinese empires before European subjugation of Asia. This nationalist, anti-working-class course has characterized the privileged bureaucracy in Beijing since the Stalinist Communist Party of China took power on the crest of the 1949 Chinese revolution.

The competing interests of the U.S. capitalist rulers and the bureaucratic caste in China run counter to those of working people in the region.

Washington waged a war of massive destruction against Vietnam in the 1960s and early 1970s in a failed attempt to roll back the revolution there. Vietnam was then invaded by Chinese forces in February 1979 in retaliation for its overthrow of the murderous regime of Pol Pot in Cambodia in December 1978.

When Mullen's tour began, the U.S. military had just concluded an 11-day military exercise with the Philippine navy involving more than 1,000 sailors and two U.S. guided-missile destroyers. The Vietnamese and U.S. navies conducted live-fire drills in the South China Sea in mid-June, as tensions between Hanoi and Beijing were heating up. The two are planning another round of live-fire maneuvers later in July.

The timing of these joint exercises is "inappropriate," said Chinese general Chen Bingde July 11 during a joint press conference with Mullen. Chen urged Washington to be "more modest and prudent in words and deeds."

"We are and will remain a Pacific power, just as China is a Pacific power," Mullen insisted at a January 10 address at Renmin University in Beijing. "The United States is deepening



its commitment to this region and the alliances and partnerships that define our presence there."

Seeking to avoid open military confrontation, the two powers pledged to conduct joint counter-piracy maneuvers in the Gulf of Aden later this

year. Mullen said conflicts between Washington and Beijing should be worked out "in a responsible way, so that a specific incident does not rise to a level of miscalculation which could become very dangerous and get out of control."

Washington squeezes Pakistani government

Continued from front page
SEAL raid May 2 killed Osama bin Laden in the Pakistani city of Abbottabad, without the prior knowledge of Islamabad. In fact during the course of the raid, SEAL commandos were instructed by the Obama White House to fight Pakistani police and troops if they interfered with the operation. Pakistan's parliament strongly condemned the raid as a violation of the nation's sovereignty.

The Obama administration has been pressing without much success for Islamabad to launch a military offensive in the North Waziristan tribal region, near the border with Afghanistan, where the Haqqani network and other al-Qaeda and Taliban groups are based.

Washington is also stepping up aerial drone assassination attacks. Four missile strikes in northwestern Paki-

stan July 12 killed at least 42 people, reported Associated Press. This included three strikes in North Waziristan and an attack in the Dremala village of South Waziristan.

Several days earlier, Adm. Michael Mullen, chairman of the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff, told the media that the Pakistani government was responsible for the death of journalist Saleem Shahzad. "It was sanctioned by the government," Mullen said July 7. Mullen's remarks, noted BBC News, "are the most explicit to date in a downward spiral in recent U.S.-Pakistan relations."

Shahzad wrote for the Hong Kong-based Asia Times Online and the Italian news agency Adnkronos International. Shortly before his death he authored an article on al-Qaeda infiltration of Pakistan's navy. He was subsequently kidnapped near his home in

Islamabad. His body was found two days later.

In a recent visit to Afghanistan, Obama's new defense secretary, Leon Panetta, stirred up controversy with remarks about the administration's drawdown plans. Panetta told reporters that Washington will have 70,000 troops in the country through 2014. "For at least the next two years, we're going to have a pretty significant force in place," he emphasized.

But Obama, in announcing withdrawal of 33,000 U.S. troops by September 2012, promised to continue drawing down the remaining 70,000 troops more rapidly.

Panetta's aides scurried to correct his comments. "He was not here making new policy," stated Doug Wilson, assistant secretary of defense for public affairs. "He was not here differing with the president."

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6 The Militant July 25, 2011

Afro-descendants hold int'l forum in Venezuela

BY JOHN HAWKINS
AND RÓGER CALERO

CARACAS, Venezuela—More than 600 people participated here June 19–22 in the Fourth International Gathering of Afro-Descendants and Revolutionary Transformations in Latin America and the Caribbean, hosted by Afro-Venezuelan organizations and the Venezuelan National Assembly.

Participants from groups in Colombia and Venezuela, as well as academics, political activists, and government figures, came from more than 20 countries in Latin America, the Caribbean, the United States, and Africa. The largest delegation, some 80 people, came from Colombia.

Some 25 percent of the population of Latin America is of African descent.

In response to demands for an end to discrimination by workers and farmers of African descent in Venezuela, the government designated May the Month of Afro-Descendants. This year activities were organized to discuss an anti-discrimination law now before the National Assembly, as well as modification of the questionnaire for the upcoming census to get a more accurate count of Afro-descendants. In Bolivia a nationwide debate broke out earlier this year in the wake of the signing of a law by President Evo Morales prohibiting discrimination against both indigenous and black peoples.

Aristóbulo Istúriz, vice president of Venezuela's National Assembly, welcomed conference participants. Other speakers included Fernando Soto Rojas, president of the National Assembly; Piedad Córdoba, a former senator from Colombia; and Norma Romero, who spoke on behalf of Afro-Venezuelan groups. "Our heritage is not a cultural one. It's a political heritage, a heritage of struggle," said Romero.

Present at the opening session was a large group of Haitians studying medicine at the Latin America School of Medicine (ELAM), a sister school run by the Venezuelan government to the

ELAM in Cuba. The school in Cuba was set up in 1999 by the revolutionary government there to train thousands of students from around the world at no cost for tuition, room, or board.

Close to 150 speakers addressed sessions and panels on topics from pressuring governments and institutions to end discriminatory practices, to high joblessness among blacks, to the disproportionate number of blacks in prisons. During informal discussion, several participants described the situation of Afro-Colombian communities forcibly displaced from their ancestral lands by developers and mining companies.

Among the featured speakers were Jerry Rawlings, former president of Ghana; Jesús "Chucho" García, an Afro-Venezuelan activist and Venezuela's ambassador to Angola; Cuban journalist Pedro de la Hoz; and Ali Moussa Iye, coordinator of UNESCO's "Slave Route Project." A solidarity message was read from Mumia Abu-Jamal, an African American activist and journalist framed and imprisoned 29 years ago on charges of murdering a cop.

Róger Calero, a leader of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States, spoke on the panel "Challenges and Opportunities for Afro-Descendants in the National and International Labor Movement." The consequences of the deepening capitalist crisis, he said, "are creating an openness among workers and farmers in the United States to an explanation about the need to end the dictatorship of capital and replace it with the power of workers and farmers. That new state power is the most powerful weapon to fight every form of exploitation, including Black oppression."

Many at the conference were drawn to a display of books published by Pathfinder Press and to discussions with communist workers from the United States about the class struggle there. Participants bought 180 books and pamphlets, and six subscriptions to the *Militant*. Among the best sellers were Span-



Podium at Fourth International Gathering of Afro-Descendants and Revolutionary Transformations in Latin America and the Caribbean, held in Caracas. Inset: Heriberto Feraudy, head of Commission for the Fight against Racism and Discrimination of National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba. "The first measure we took to combat racism in Cuba was the Jan. 1, 1959, revolution," Feraudy told conference.



ish translations of *Malcolm X*, *Black Liberation*, and *the Road to Workers Power* by Jack Barnes, speeches by revolutionary leader Thomas Sankara from the African country of Burkina Faso, and titles on the fight for women's liberation and the Cuban Revolution.

Most speakers advocated reforms within capitalist social relations as the road to fight racism. In a discussion on including more people of African descent in government agencies, María Alexandra Ocles from Ecuador warned of the tendency of these institutions to become just one more level of bureaucracy that cannot advance the struggle.

'First step was revolution'

"We have created government institutions in Cuba to deal with the question of racism," said Heriberto Feraudy, "but the first measure we took to combat racism in Cuba was the Jan. 1, 1959, revolution." Feraudy is head of the Commission for the Fight against Racism and Discrimination of the National Union of Writers and Artists of Cuba.

He explained how Cuban workers and peasants overthrew rule by capitalists and big landowners and used their state power to uproot racist institutions and practices. He pointed to discussions in

Cuba today on how to overcome vestiges of the centuries-long legacy of chattel slavery and capitalist oppression.

The week before the Caracas conference, a weeklong seminar took place in Havana on Cuba and Peoples of African Descent in the Americas.

The conference here was seen by organizers and many participants as a political counterweight to a gathering set for August 18–21 in La Ceiba, Honduras. Billed as the "First World Summit of Afro-Descendants," the event was announced in Washington, D.C., May 26 by the Pan American Health Organization and UN World Health Organization. Speaking at the news conference were representatives of the Inter American Commission of Human Rights of the Organization of American States, long a tool of U.S. imperialism's drive to subjugate the Latin American people, and the Honduran ambassador to the United States.

The final conference resolution included proposals to create a ministry-level council of Afro-Venezuelans; allocation of funds to aid Afro-descendant communities in Latin America; a solidarity fund for Haiti; and an end to NATO bombing of Libya and military intervention in Africa.

For further reading

From the Escambray to the Congo In the Whirlwind of the Cuban Revolution by Víctor Dreke

Dreke describes how easy it became after the Cuban Revolution to take down a rope segregating blacks from whites in the town square, yet how enormous was the battle to transform social relations underlying all the "ropes" inherited from capitalism and Yankee domination. Second in command of the internationalist column in the Congo led by Che Guevara in 1965, he recounts the creative joy with which working people have defended their revolutionary course—from Cuba's Escambray mountains to Africa and beyond. —\$17

We Are Heirs of the World's Revolutions Speeches from the Burkina Faso revolution 1983-87 by Thomas Sankara

"We wish to be the heirs of all the revolutions of the world, of all the liberation struggles of the peoples of the Third World. We draw the lessons of the American revolution. The French revolution taught us the rights of man. The great October revolution brought victory to the proletariat and made possible the realization of the Paris Commune's dreams of justice." —\$10



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Worker in Sweden: Scania bonus is 'blood money'

Below is a letter to the *Militant* from Björn Tirsén, a worker at a Scania truck plant in Södertälje, Sweden, near Stockholm. Tirsén explains why he is making a "blood money" contribution to the Socialist Workers Party's Capital Fund. The fund makes possible long-term projects of the party.

Blood money is a good description of the one-off "bonus" payments employers hand out as bribes to try to get workers to accept dangers on the job, speedup, and wage cuts, instead of joining together to fight for their common class interests. Management hopes these payments will keep workers quiet in the face of its daily trampling on their humanity and dignity.

Refusing to be drawn in, class-conscious workers take the money and put it to good use by contributing it to the Capital Fund.

June 20, 2011

To the *Militant*

Dear fellow workers,

The bosses at Scania where I work have insulted us with a "blood money" bribe of 3,613 kronor (it was 5,000 kronor before taxes), which I want to put towards building a movement for ending the dictatorship of capital (1 krona=US 15 cents).

Scania, which produces trucks and has about 35,000 employees around the world, admits to making a profit of 9 billion kronor in 2010. That is about 260,000 kronor profit per employee.

I earn about 190,000 kronor a year on the engine assembly line after income tax has been deducted. And they are "giving" us a 2.5 percent increase in wages at a time when even official inflation in Sweden runs at 3.3 percent annually (gas prices have risen at an 8 percent rate recently).

And in face of everything we are confronting, they are giving us this one-time sum of 5,000 kronor as part of their pay "deal" with the hope—in vain I believe—of keeping us quiet.

In solidarity,
Björn Tirsén
Södertälje, Sweden

S. China event discusses Chinese in Cuba

At Guangzhou conference, Pathfinder president notes example of Cuban Revolution

BY MARTÍN KOPPEL

GUANGZHOU, China—Mary-Alice Waters, president of Pathfinder Press, was the featured speaker at a June 27 conference here on the history of Chinese in Cuba. Waters is the editor of *Our History Is Still Being Written: The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution*. The book has been published in Spanish and English by Pathfinder Press and in Chinese by the Intellectual Property Publishing House in Beijing.

In interviews, the book's authors—Armando Choy, Gustavo Chui, and Moisés Sío Wong—recount what led them, as youth growing up in Cuba in the 1950s, to join the July 26 Movement and Rebel Army, which spearheaded the fight to overthrow the U.S.-backed Batista dictatorship. They tell the story of Chinese immigration to Cuba and its place in forging the modern Cuban nation, beginning in the mid-19th century when thousands of Chinese, brought to Cuba as brutally exploited indentured workers, joined the revolutionary wars there to abolish slavery and win independence from Spanish colonial rule.

Nearly 50 people attended the event, hosted by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Guangdong provincial government and the Cuban consulate here. It was held in the building that houses the Overseas Chinese Museum of Guangdong, which documents and illustrates the history of migration around the world of Chinese from this coastal city and the surrounding area, historically known as Canton outside of China.

The other speakers were Félix Raúl Rojas, Cuban consul in Guangzhou, and Lin Lin, deputy director of the provincial Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. Ming Hui Wang, director of the Overseas Museum, welcomed the invited guests.

Also at the meeting were students and teachers from Wuyi University in the city of Jiangmen and from Jinan University in Guangzhou, both in Guangdong province. They were joined by other officials of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office, senior museum staff, journalists, and special guests with ties to Chinese emigration to Cuba. The meeting was translated between Spanish, English, and Chinese.

Waters was accompanied by Pathfinder editor Martín Koppel, who was



Left, Ming Hui Wang, director of Overseas Chinese Museum, welcomes participants to June 27 conference in Guangzhou, China, on history of Chinese in Cuba. Right, audience at gathering. In front row, first two from right are Pathfinder Press president Mary-Alice Waters and Lin Lin, deputy director of Office of Overseas Chinese Affairs for Guangdong. Most emigration to Cuba came from Guangdong (Canton) region.

responsible for the Spanish edition of *Our History Is Still Being Written*, and Linda Harris and Patrick Brown, distributors of the book in Australia, New Zealand, and throughout the Pacific and Asia.

All four had just taken part in a regional conference in Hong Kong of the International Society for the Study of Chinese Overseas (see last week's issue). Hong Kong, which was returned to China in 1997 after more than 150 years of British colonial rule, is 100 miles from Guangzhou. Both cities are part of the Greater Pearl River Delta region of southern China.

Independence fighters

Rojas paid tribute to the tens of thousands of Chinese, most of them from Guangdong province, "who came and mixed their blood with ours, thus forming, together with the Spanish and Africans, the roots of the Cuban nationality."

He discussed the course adopted by the recent congress of the Cuban Communist Party to make "the economic and social adjustments required by today's conditions" in order to "improve our socialism by building our society in accordance with our own needs, our own characteristics, and our own experiences."

The Cuban consul expressed appreciation to Waters and those accompanying her "for their tireless struggle to break down the wall of silence [the U.S.

rulers] have tried to build around the Cuban Revolution, a struggle waged within the very heart of the country of those who promote that wall of silence." (See Rojas's remarks on facing page.)

Lin Lin extended a warm welcome to Rojas and Waters on behalf of the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office and the Guangdong Association of Overseas Chinese Studies. He noted that the first group of 206 Chinese indentured workers, brought from Guangdong, arrived in Cuba in 1847. In 1867, he said, the first Chinese association, Kit Yi Tong (Union), was founded in Havana.

He cited the famous statement by Gen. Gonzalo de Quesada, a leader of Cuba's 1895 independence war, that "there was not a single Chinese Cuban deserter; there was not a single Chinese Cuban traitor." That quote appears on a monument in downtown Havana in honor of the liberation fighters who were Chinese. A photograph of the monument is featured prominently in the Museum of Overseas Chinese.

"Our research associations in China have limited resources on the history as well as the present conditions of the overseas Chinese in Cuba," Lin Lin said. "*Our History Is Still Being Written* is a very valuable record" of that experience, and today's conference "will give us a better understanding of it."

Why Cuba's example stands out

Rojas introduced Mary-Alice Waters, the book's editor, noting that she is a member of the Socialist Workers Party National Committee and editor of the Marxist magazine *New Internationalist*. He pointed to the broad interest the book has generated, citing the more than 60 conferences, seminars, and classes Waters has addressed on university campuses and cities around the world.

What is unique about Cuba in contrast with every other country, said Waters, is the elimination of discrimination and virtual disappearance of prejudice against Cubans of Chinese ancestry.

While interest in the

culture and arts Chinese immigrants brought with them to Cuba, and pride in this rich history, is increasing across the island today, Waters pointed out that Havana's world-famous Chinatown, once the largest in Latin America, bears little resemblance to its former self.

"The reason is evident," she said. "There is no longer any compulsion for Chinese Cubans to live together in a restricted district. They are no longer barred from other areas as they once were, nor do they need safety of numbers to protect themselves from acts of violence, discrimination, and racism. There are also no longer any typically 'Chinese' occupations in Cuba today, whether shopkeepers or in laundries or restaurants."

Today Cubans of Chinese descent are integrated into all areas of social life and at the highest levels of responsibility in government and other arenas.

The explanation, Waters said, lies in 150 years of revolutionary continuity in Cuba. Chinese were massively involved in the 19th century battles for independence and abolition of slavery and all forms of indentured servitude. In the 1930s they took part in the revolutionary upsurge against the Machado dictatorship, she said, noting the prominent role played by China-born José Wong, whose contributions included the found-

Continued on page 9



Reporters Dinad Hou (left) of daily *New Express* and Fang Yan of Radio Guangdong interview Mary-Alice Waters, editor of *Our History Is Still Being Written*, after event.

Our History Is Still Being Written

The Story of Three Chinese-Cuban Generals in the Cuban Revolution

by Armando Choy, Gustavo Chui, Moisés Sío Wong, Mary-Alice Waters

Three young rebels of Chinese-Cuban ancestry who took part in the



1956-58 revolutionary war that opened the door to the socialist revolution in the Americas tell their stories of decades of revolutionary action and internationalism.

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‘Chinese Cubans joined the cause of freedom’

The following remarks by Félix Raúl Rojas, Cuba’s consul general in Guangzhou, China, were made at the June 27 conference on the history of Chinese in Cuba, hosted by the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of the Guangdong provincial government and the Cuban consulate (see accompanying news article on facing page). The translation from Spanish is by the Militant.

BY FÉLIX RAÚL ROJAS

It’s truly an honor to have the opportunity to pay tribute here in China, in Guangdong province, to the thousands of citizens of these lands who came to our country, Cuba, on the other side of the ocean. Who came and mixed their blood with ours, thus forming, together with the Spanish and Africans, the roots of the Cuban nationality.

I would like to quote Gonzalo de Quesada, a personal friend of our na-

tional hero, José Martí, and first secretary of the party Martí founded to lead the fight for Cuban independence, the Cuban Revolutionary Party. In 1892, in referring to the Chinese who had joined the struggle for Cuban independence, Gonzalo de Quesada said:

“If thousands of Chinese hadn’t helped keep the war going . . . if they hadn’t been brave, seasoned soldiers, if they hadn’t been willing to die as souls destined for glory, they would still have the right to immortality and our respect simply due to the fact that there was no Chinese person in Cuba who did not embrace the cause of freedom.”

A monument—a representation of which may be seen in one of the main galleries of this magnificent museum on the Chinese overseas—is dedicated to those brave men who gave their lives for Cuba.

The Chinese kept coming to Cuba, eventually forming the most important community of its kind in the entire American continent.

This thriving community never ceased to be part of struggles for national liberation. They fought dictatorships and together with their fellow Cubans continued to offer their lives for freedom and national independence.

The popular insurrection that was born on July 26, 1953, and continued in the Sierra Maestra welcomed the presence of Chinese in the guerrilla struggle led by Fidel Castro. After the victory in 1959 these guerrilla units became the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and Chinese remain there to this day.

The Chinese are an indissoluble part of the Cuban nationality, of its spirit of freedom and equality, of universal brotherhood that was born out of the mestizo character of our society. They have contributed to culture, sports, cuisine, commerce, and religion. The Chinese and



Above: Militant/Martín Koppel
Right: José Martí National Library of Cuba
Above, bas-relief frieze in Overseas Chinese Museum in Guangzhou shows Chinese forced aboard ship to Americas as indentured workers in mid-19th century. Right, Chinese combatants in Cuban independence war. Today Cuba is unique in absence of anti-Chinese discrimination and prejudice, the result of socialist revolution and 150 years of continuity in struggle.

their descendants continue the process of exchange and mutual influence with the rest of Cuban society.

Today our country is experiencing a historical process that demands the attention and commitment of all Cubans and all friends of Cubans.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Cuba was held last April. It discussed and approved important transformations for the country.

It was a historic congress that in practice began November 9 of last year, with the presentation of draft political, economic, and social guidelines for the party and the revolution—a document that was discussed by the entire population of Cuba.

The draft is part of a process. Putting it into practice depends on our ability to create the conditions for its full implementation. The aim is to make it a driving force in building socialism in Cuba, in increasing efficiency in the basic means of production, which are the property of the people as a whole.

This will help ensure that the state continues providing—for the entire



population, on an equal basis and free of charge—health care, education, and other services. It will help ensure the defense of our identity, the preservation of our cultural patrimony and of the nation’s artistic, scientific, and historic wealth.

All this will also lead to a strengthening of our ties with various business sectors in other countries, among which the Chinese occupy such an important place. We know we can count on the political will of the Chinese authorities to promote and participate in the process of making the economic and social adjustments required by today’s conditions.

We will improve our socialism by building our society in accordance with our own needs, our own characteristics, and our own experiences as well.

Before I finish, I would like to express our appreciation to the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office of Guangdong province, and to the directors of this museum, who have made this gathering possible. I give special thanks to Mary-Alice Waters and the friends accompanying her, not only for being here today and for enlightening us on the history of the people of China and Cuba, but for their tireless struggle to break down the wall of silence others have tried to build around the Cuban Revolution, a struggle waged within the very heart of the country of those who promote that wall of silence.

I would like to emphasize that Guangdong province is an excellent example of what the men and women of this beautiful land have been able to accomplish in the last thirty years.

The majority of the Chinese who settled in Cuba set sail from Guangdong, and now their descendants work to build a new society.

I am convinced that these common roots that unite the Chinese of Guangdong with those Chinese and their descendants who today live in our country, can and must constitute a solid basis for the process of economic and social betterment that today is being carried forward in Cuba.

Long live the friendship between the peoples of China and Cuba.

Thank you.



Overseas Chinese Museum
Raúl Rojas, Cuban consul in Guangzhou, addresses June 27 event.

Pathfinder president speaks in Guangzhou

Continued from page 8

ing of the Revolutionary Alliance for the Protection of Chinese Workers and Peasants in Cuba.

Waters also emphasized the sharp class divisions that grew up among Chinese Cubans, as some became wealthy business owners with substantial international ties while the majority remained workers and small shopkeepers barely scraping by.

Through the stories told by Choy, Chui, and Sio Wong in *Our History Is Still Being Written*, Waters said, we learn of the involvement of Chinese Cubans in the revolutionary struggle that culminated in the 1959 victory and opened the road to socialist revolution in the Americas. All three shouldered major leadership tasks in Cuba’s internationalist missions in Africa and elsewhere, rising to the rank of general in Cuba’s Revolutionary Armed Forces and taking on high government responsibilities.

Cause of U.S. hostility to Cuba

Waters underscored the reasons for Washington’s intractable hostility to Cuba’s revolutionary government reaching back more than 50 years. As the new

revolutionary government carried out land reform and other elementary steps to meet the pressing needs of Cuba’s working people, Waters noted, “they came into head-on confrontation with the country’s small ruling class and the U.S. capitalist families who owned and controlled most of the cultivated land, mineral wealth, oil refineries, railroads, utilities, and almost half the sugar production in Cuba.”

Despite Washington’s acts of sabotage, invasion, assassination attempts, embargo, and blockade, Cuban workers and farmers stood their ground, Waters said.

“That steadfast refusal to allow the imperialist rulers to continue dominating them explains the U.S. government’s determination to punish the people of Cuba to this day,” she explained. “Nothing short of crushing that independence and opening the doors once again to capitalist exploitation—which they call ‘democracy’ and ‘freedom’—will satisfy them. They must destroy Cuba’s example for the working people of Latin America and the world.”

These are the reasons why today “five Cuban revolutionaries have been vindic-

tively locked up in U.S. prisons for nearly 13 years,” Waters noted. “They are being held hostage to the demand that the Cuban people submit to ‘changes’ deemed acceptable by Washington.”

During the discussion, several audience members took the floor to contribute their experiences. “The history of the Chinese in Cuba you talked about is a source of pride for me,” said Zhang Guoxiong, a professor at Wuyi University. In the part of Guangdong province where he grew up, he added, “we even have a ‘Cuban village’” where many or most families have relatives who migrated to Cuba decades ago.

Zhang asked Waters about the response by Chinese Cubans to events in China in the late 1940s and early ’50s, at the time of the victory of the Chinese revolution over the bourgeois pro-Kuomintang forces. In a similar vein, he asked about the response in Cuba during the 1980s to China’s “opening” to the world.

Until the 1959 victory, “the Chinese community in Cuba was dominated by wealthy Chinese Cuban capitalist families with ties to the Kuomintang,”

Continued on page 11

Breaking morale is aim of solitary confinement

BY CINDY JAQUITH

Isolation in solitary confinement is being used more and more by prison officials today to try to break the morale of political prisoners and other incarcerated working people.

Native American activist Leonard Peltier, who has been imprisoned for 35 years, was thrown in “the hole” June 27 in the federal prison in Lewisburg, Pennsylvania. His attorney Robert Bryan says prison officials claim Peltier tampered with a light switch and that a supporter in the United Kingdom mailed him a silver coin. Peltier is serving a double life sentence on frame-up charges of killing two FBI agents during a government siege of the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota in 1975.

In 2010 Gerardo Hernández, one of the Cuban Five, was held in solitary confinement for two weeks. The cell he was in had no air conditioning, while the temperature outside was more than 100 degrees. To get enough oxygen, he had to lie on the floor to suck air from the crack under the door. The shower had only scalding hot water.

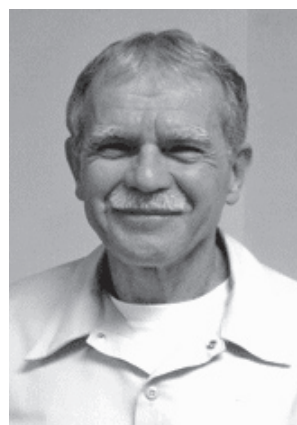
The Cuban Five—Hernández, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, Fernando González, and René González—were arrested in 1998 in Miami, where

they had been tracking the activities of Cuban American paramilitary groups there with a long history of armed assaults and acts of sabotage against Cuba—activities tacitly supported by Washington. They were held for 17 months in solitary confinement before their trial to pressure them to testify for the U.S. government. None of the five broke.

The five remain in jail, serving sentences ranging from 15 years for René González to double life plus 15 years for Hernández. Hernández was sentenced to life on murder conspiracy charges for the Cuban government’s decision on Feb. 24, 1996, to shoot down two hostile aircraft that had repeatedly and provocatively invaded its airspace.

Solitary confinement has also been used against fighters for Puerto Rican independence. Oscar López Rivera, convicted of “seditious conspiracy” for opposing the island’s colonial subjugation, was kept in the hole from 1986 to 1998. Jailed since 1981, he remains one of the longest-held political prisoners in the world.

The other two Puerto Rican independence fighters currently behind bars, Norberto and Avelino González Claudio, have both been subjected to solitary confinement.



Isolation in solitary confinement is being used more and more by prison officials today to try to break morale of political prisoners and other incarcerated working people. But rulers have been unable to use “the hole” to break determination of many prisoners, including, clockwise from top left, Native American activist Leonard Peltier; Puerto Rican independence fighters Oscar López and Norberto González Claudio; and Cuban Five prisoners, from left to right, Gerardo Hernández, René González, Antonio Guerrero, Ramón Labañino, and Fernando González.

Pelican Bay prison strike

Continued from front page

prisoners are held in lockdown for 22 hours a day in a windowless, sound-proof concrete cell—some of them for decades.

In a formal complaint to Gov. Edmund Brown and California Depart-

ment of Corrections and Rehabilitation secretary Matthew Cate on behalf of their fellow inmates at Pelican Bay, Todd Ashker and Danny Troxell demand an end to the arbitrary policy of assigning inmates to SHUs for gang activity “even though they have not been charged or found guilty of committing a gang-related illegal act.”

Solitary confinement is a favored punishment of the California Department of Corrections. One example is the case of longtime Black Panther Party member Geronimo Pratt, wrongly imprisoned for 27 years on a murder conviction. He was held in solitary confinement for eight years.

The strike also demands an end to the policy of requiring prisoners to “debrief”—inform on gang activity by their fellow inmates—in order to get released from the SHU, at great risk to their own personal safety and that of their families.

Another demand is the elimination of group punishments where prisoners of an entire racial group are punished when one individual in that group is charged with breaking a prison rule.

Other demands raised by the strikers cast further light on the grim conditions they face. They want adequate food that has nutritional value, more access to natural sunlight, one photo a year, a wall calendar, and a phone call each week.

According to Terry Thornton, a spokeswoman for the California Department of Corrections, the demands of the hunger strikers are being “reviewed and evaluated very thoroughly.” However, “the department is not going to be coerced or manipulated,” she added. “That so many inmates in other prisons throughout the state are involved really demonstrates how these gangs can influence other inmates, which is one of the reasons we have security housing units in the first place.”

On May 23 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that California prison system conditions are cruel and unusual punishment, a violation of the U.S. Constitution.

The court ordered California to reduce the population in state prisons by 46,000 over the next two years. The court said nothing at all about any modification of the SHUs.

Anti-Catholic demagoguery underlies lawsuit

BY JOHN STUDER

NEW YORK—Anti-Catholic conspiracy demagoguery is central to a “birther”-related lawsuit before the Supreme Court of New York in Brooklyn contending that three candidates in the 2008 presidential race were not “natural-born” citizens, and that plaintiff Christopher-Earl Strunk should be awarded money damages and a court order nullifying the election results.

As reported in the July 4 *Militant*, the three presidential nominees named by Strunk are Democratic and Republican party candidates Barack Obama and John McCain, as well as Róger Calero, who ran on the Socialist Workers Party ticket both in 2008 and 2004. Attorneys for Calero, Obama, and McCain have each filed to have

Strunk’s complaint thrown out by the court.

‘Jesuit plot’

Strunk charges that the Catholic Church, the Pope, the Jesuit Order, the so-called Knights of Malta, and others are behind a far-reaching plot to destroy the U.S. government and take over the world.

In addition to the three 2008 candidates, other defendants named in Strunk’s suit are two prominent New York Jesuit priests, Joseph O’Hare and Joseph Parkes, along with well-known Democratic and Republican politicians who are Catholic. These include House minority and majority leaders Nancy Pelosi and John Boehner, Vice President Joseph Biden, New York governor Andrew Cuomo, and former White House national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski. Others named by Strunk are Peter Peterson of the Council on Foreign Relations; real estate mogul and Democratic Party fund-raiser Penny Sue Pritzker; and financier George Soros, also a funder of Democratic candidates.

Strunk charges that O’Hare and Parkes are each “a fourth level induction member of the White and Black Pope’s Militia.” These Jesuit clergy, he says, conspired with leaders of the Council on Foreign Relations and others “in preparation for a banking and sub-prime mortgage collapse” that allowed the International Monetary Fund to engineer a “collapse of the living standards of the vast majority of Americans to that of a third world status.”

Strunk’s alleged stalking horse

According to Strunk, the aim of the cabal he claims to have identified is to use political turmoil across North Africa and the Middle East to draw

Washington into military action that “will be blamed on the U.S.A. thereby inciting the unity of international Sunni Islam and its future invasion of U.S. soil.” But Islam, Strunk claims, is in fact just a stalking horse for the rise to world power of “the final Pope of Rome.”

Strunk says this conspiracy “eclipses all other influences on SOE-BARKAH”—Obama’s name in Indonesian, according to many birthers—“McCain and Calero.” His lawsuit demands that the Brooklyn court issue an immediate order for “restraint against interference by the Jesuit Order” and authorize “expedited discovery” against those Strunk claims are behind the conspiracy.

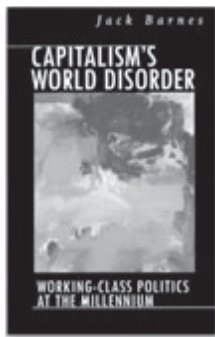
Strunk’s current suit is one of dozens he has filed over the last five years. In all of them, he says, the “Jesuits and Knights of Malta are at the center and must be mentioned in every opportunity as if discussing the weather.”

Anti-Catholic prejudice has gone hand in hand with anti-immigrant agitation throughout the history of the U.S. class struggle. In the 1800s racist and chauvinist movements targeted workers who were Catholic from Ireland, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere, charging they were beholden to the Pope and couldn’t be “real Americans.” In the opening decades of the 20th century, the Ku Klux Klan spearheaded attacks on Catholics, as well as African Americans, immigrant workers, and Jews, scapegoating them as responsible for economic and social problems facing workers and farmers.

The big majority of recent immigrants in the United States today are workers from Mexico and other countries in Central and South America, most of whose populations are Catholic.

CAPITALISM’S WORLD DISORDER

Working-Class Politics at the Millennium



by Jack Barnes

The crisis of the world capitalist order “is no plot,” says Barnes. “There is no mystery to it.” It is the product of “rivalry among the ruling

families of finance capital to intensify their exploitation of the toilers the world over, collect on their debts, and enhance their profit rates.” \$25

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Socialist Workers campaign—join us!

Continued from front page

chances no one but the hand-picked Democratic and Republican nominees could get on the ballot—including any working-class candidate running independent of and against the two bosses’ parties—Cuomo set a July 13 deadline to collect 3,500 signatures on nominating petitions. In New York the Democrats and Republicans, as well as several small parties that back them, already have ballot status and don’t have to meet this onerous requirement.

But the stakes for working people involve more than Cuomo’s bourgeois electoral maneuver, an age-old phenomenon. This is democracy—bourgeois democracy—in times of mounting capitalist crisis.

It’s another example of obstacles being thrown in the way of workers’ ability to speak out, organize, and act in our class interests as the U.S. capitalist rulers step up their assault on our living and job conditions and launch new wars. Just like their moves to erode the presumption of innocence and give the FBI and CIA wider and wider latitude to spy on workers and disrupt our organizations.

Taking on Cuomo’s challenge, supporters of the SWP campaign in New York collected 7,080 signatures in five days. From the start, SWP campaign supporters have reached out to other workers standing up for their rights. In just the first week of the race Hoeppner walked the picket line of striking building workers in Queens and accepted an invitation to speak to a group of students fighting

for legalization of immigrants. In two weeks campaign supporters will join others in Germantown, Maryland, to support a woman’s right to choose abortion and defend a clinic there.

The SWP campaign is the only voice in the September 13 election calling for workers to break with the two parties of U.S. imperialism, the Democrats and Republicans, and build a revolutionary movement that can overturn the capitalist state and replace it with political rule by workers and farmers—the necessary instrument for working people to fight to end once and for all the scourges of war, racism, women’s oppression, and class exploitation.

Although claiming to speak for working people, the so-called Working Families Party in New York has endorsed Democratic Party candidate David Weprin, a lawyer and investment banker. The Independence Party, which in New York City is dominated by a middle-class cult claiming to speak on behalf of the oppressed (for many years called the New Alliance Party), also backs Weprin. The Conservative Party has endorsed Republican Robert Turner, a retired cable TV mogul.

Help get out the word about the working-class alternative! Volunteer to help the Socialist Workers Party campaign. Invite Hoeppner to speak to your organization, union, neighborhood group, or school. Call (212) 736-2540 or write or stop by the campaign headquarters at 306 W. 37th St., 10th Floor, New York, NY 10018.

Conspiracy mongers imperil working class

The anti-Catholic, “birther”-inspired lawsuit and conspiracy mongering reported on page 10 are a symptom of today’s deep going capitalist crisis, which is bringing growing unemployment, evictions and foreclosures, wars, and insecurity into the lives of tens of millions of workers, farmers, and worse-off layers of the middle classes.

With the exception of New York Board of Elections members and the 2008 Democratic, Republican, and Socialist Workers Party presidential nominees, the majority of individuals targeted by the suit are either Jesuit clergy or capitalist politicians who are known Catholics, such as Joseph Biden and Nancy Pelosi. These defendants, says plaintiff Christopher-Earl Strunk, are all part of a vast plot to establish world domination by “the final Pope of Rome.”

The right wing in bourgeois politics today has no monopoly on conspiracy bombast. The middle-class left, too, is rife with supporters of “9/11 truth brigades,” Kennedy assassination buffs, AIDS-origins hucksters, and more. All these forces are a danger to the working-class and labor movement.

By peddling the false notion that wars and social breakdowns have their roots in secret plots, conspiracy demagogues seek to divert the eyes of

workers and farmers from the real cause: the capitalist system and the bourgeois political parties and state—its cops, courts, and armed forces—that serve and protect that profit-driven system.

What’s more, an obsession with the “mysterious” source of social crises inevitably calls out for scapegoats. It raises, in sinister tones, the question “Who?”

Whether the answer is “the Jews,” “the foreigners,” or, as in Strunk’s lawsuit, “the Catholics,” a dagger is thrust through the heart of working-class solidarity, confidence, political consciousness, and determination to fight.

As the world capitalist crisis accelerates, and as workers defend ourselves on picket lines and in the streets, our class enemies will resort to bigotry and conspiracy rhetoric more and more.

But there are no mysteries. The causes of today’s capitalist crisis can be understood and explained. Most importantly, so can the political course needed to combat the worsening consequences of the dictatorship of capital for the lives, livelihoods, and rights of the oppressed and exploited—to advance along the road of the revolutionary working-class struggle for power.

Chinese in Cuba

Continued from page 9

Waters replied. They were hostile to the advances being made by the people of China. “But the early 1950s was also the period in which the revolutionary storm was brewing in Cuba and the leaders of the coming war to bring down the Batista tyranny were gathering their forces.” In September 1960 Cuba became the first country in Latin America to break diplomatic ties with Taiwan and recognize the People’s Republic of China.

In response to Zhang’s second question, Waters noted that the big shift in Cuba-China relations occurred not at the beginning of the 1980s but at the end, with the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the increasing trade and cultural exchanges between China and Cuba.

Another participant in the meeting, Huang Zhuocai, said his father had emigrated in 1925 to Cuba. As was typical, his father had a wife and family in Cuba as well as in China. Huang told the story of his Cuban half-brother, Dámaso Idalberto Revuelta Díaz, who joined the July 26 Movement. In 1958, at age 19, he died fighting the Batista dictatorship in Sagua la Grande, where today he is honored as a revolutionary martyr. Huang gave Waters a copy of his book *Father and Son: The Memoir of a Chinese in Cuba and the Trajectory of His Family Letters*.

Lei Baian, a local artist and small businessman, talked about his three trips to Cuba. As part of the day’s activities he donated to the museum items he had brought back from his trips. These included crumbling historical ledgers documenting Chinese emigration to Cuba he had obtained from Chinese associations there. They will be an irreplaceable record for those descendants eager to trace their family histories and connections. The museum’s staff received them with much appreciation.

Following the meeting, a formal lunch for the invited guests was hosted by Lin Lin and the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office. Afterward Ming Hui Wang gave the guests a guided tour of the Overseas Chinese Museum, which contains a wealth of photos and other items documenting Chinese migration around the world, including to Cuba.

The displays also depict the extensive investments and charity donations throughout the province from overseas Chinese who have roots in Guangdong. Ming noted that such investments have been encouraged by the Chinese government’s policy of returning expropriated property to overseas Chinese willing to invest in China today and suggested that a similar course would benefit Cuba too.

After the conference, Waters was interviewed by two young reporters covering the event, Fang Yan from Radio Guangdong and Dinad Hou from the local Chinese-language daily *New Express*.

The wide-ranging questions they asked included: What about the participation of former African slaves in the Cuban independence war? Why is Cuba’s experience important for people in the United States? How can a socialist revolution take place in the United States? As a member of the Socialist Workers Party, how do you see the serious problem of corruption and embezzlement in some socialist countries? Does the “Chinese way of development” show the advantages of a socialist government? Why does Pathfinder offer books at reduced prices for prisoners? Why are many of your books published in Farsi? What does Pathfinder stand for? What experiences changed your own thinking to become a socialist? The reporters kept asking questions until everyone had to leave the hall.

A conference on overseas Chinese from Guangdong province, hosted by Wuyi University, is scheduled for October 2012. At the end of the day’s activities, Zhang Guoxiong expressed the hope that discussion of the history of the Chinese in Cuba will continue at that event.

Correction

There was an error in the article “Public Workers in Connecticut Reject Concessions” that appeared in the July 11 issue. The word “only” should have been omitted from the sentence: “Democratic governor Andrew Cuomo has reached a deal with officials of the state’s largest union that includes a three-year wage freeze, *only* nine days of unpaid days off over two years, and health-care givebacks.”

LETTERS

Nowhere else

News found nowhere else. Of course never in the capitalist press.
L.J.
Takoma Park, Maryland

More on SWP history

I am an inmate at a federal prison. I have read a few copies of your newspaper and I’d like to know whether you can offer me

a free subscription. I’d also like to learn more about the Socialist Workers Party, your platform, your history, and your philosophy. Thank you very much.
A prisoner
Pennsylvania

In reply—We’d be happy to start your subscription. The *Militant Prisoners’ Fund* makes pos-

sible complimentary subscriptions to those behind bars.—*Editor*

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Gary Striker,
Montpelier, New Hampshire

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

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